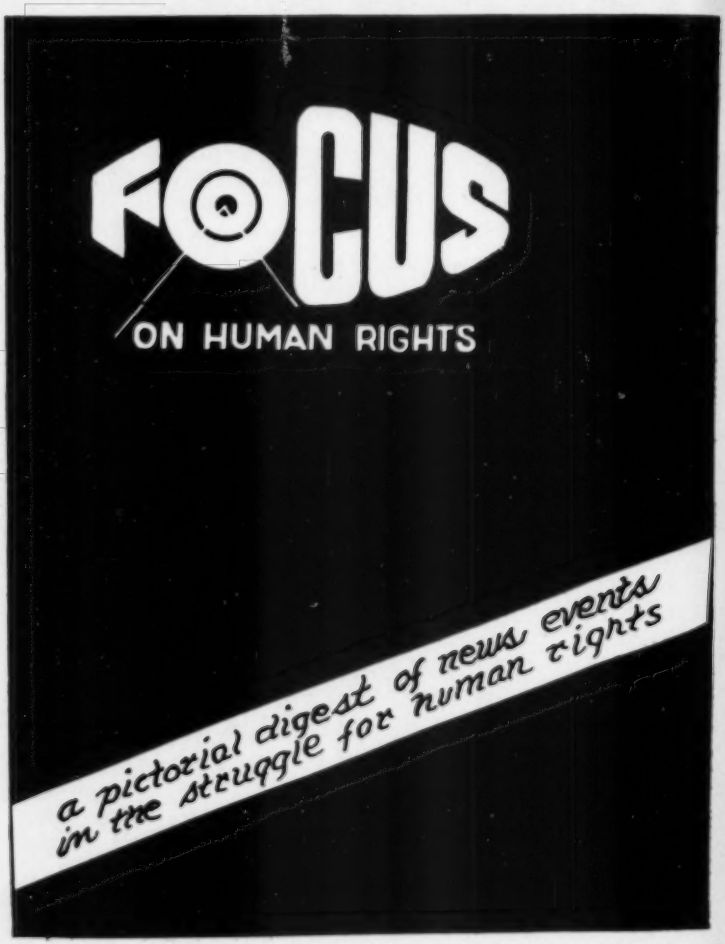
The CRISIS

MAY, 1961 15¢



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REG. U. S. PAT. OFF.

A RECORD OF THE DARKER RACES

Editor: James W. Ivy

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May, 1961

COVER

Little Robin Triplett, 3, is daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Leo Triplett, teachers in the East St. Louis, Illinois, school system. Little Robin has a junior life membership in the NAACP, a gift from her aunt, Mrs. Amanda Triplett, also a teacher in the E. St. Louis school system.—Photo by Phillip L. Beck.

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■ Why the world's "highest deliberative body" is often at the mercy of any small band which chooses to talk a measure to death

Rule 22—an Historic Frustration

By Franklin H. Williams

THE filibuster*, traditionally revered by some legislators as the prime protector of southern racial discrimination, continues to frustrate the efforts of those who believe, with the authors of the 1960 Democratic party platform, that it is the "duty of the Congress to enact the laws necessary and proper to protect and promote . . . Constitutional rights."

True to its platform and campaign promises, the new Administration is making a sincere effort to insure that "the will of the American people may be expressed upon all legislative proposals." The power of the House Rules Committee to apply a "gag rule" to legislation opposed by its conservative members has been broken under the leadership of Speaker Sam Rayburn. Three new representatives added to the twelve-man group guarantees that President Kennedy's legislative program will not be stymied by the four Republicans and two southern Democrats who have blocked, delayed or emasculated liberal legislation in past sessions by keeping bills from the floor.

Another historic frustration to the expression of the national will still remains—Rule 22 of the Senate. At this writing it seems improbable that any early change in this rule will be made. Unless it is modified a group such as President Wilson described as a "small band of willful men" will continue using the filibuster to thwart enactment of civil rights and other legislation which they oppose.

Liberals too have used this delaying tactic, though with much less frequency. Generally, they believe that the Senate should have the right to vote on an issue after both the majority and minority view have had a full and fair hearing. Most would gladly surrender the power which filibustering provides in return for

* From the Spanish word *filibustero*, meaning one in quest of plunder, a pirate.

FRANKLIN H. WILLIAMS, head of the West Coast Region of the NAACP (on leave), is assistant attorney-general, State of California.

more democratic control of Senate discussion. Neither "full" nor "fair" debate requires the endless subjection of a parliamentary body to lengthy irrelevancies and unlimited talk. Filibuster is the antithesis of debate. It denies a thoughtful exchange of views and prevents legislators from recording their convictions on issues of national interest.

FILIBUSTER NATIONAL EMBARRASSMENT

Some who defend this tactic have no concern for parliamentary fair play, dismissing all objections with the "Majority to Hades" comment of former Senator Millard Tydings of Maryland. Others argue more logically that the filibuster gives the minority power to resist the tyranny of a temporary majority and enables the Senate to check unwise and impetuous action until public opinion can be informed and aroused against ill-conceived proposals. The essence of free thinking and responsible legislative conduct contained in this credo is laudable, but it does not require *unlimited* debate to accomplish these ends. Modern communications publicize clashes of Congressional opinion on subjects of major interest swiftly. There is a fundamental difference between debate expressing divergent opinions at great length, and conduct which stifles "proper legisiative implementation of constitutional guarantees." A filibuster is a national embarrassment whether used by liberals or conservatives. The attitude that we'll play my way or there will be no game is unattractive even among immature children. In the Senate of the United States it is irresponsible and dangerous!

One possible way to insure real debate would be to empower the President of the Senate to require that all discussion be germane to the subject. This principle, honored in the British Parliament and most democratic legislatures, was included in Thomas Jefferson's parliamentary Manual in the proscription that "no one is to speak impertinently, or beside the question, superfluously or tediously." Although strict adherence to this principle would exclude much of what is said on the Senate floor, it certainly should apply to the reading, reciting and rambling that constitutes filibustering.

Another solution, the one most frequently advanced, is to change Rule 22 to permit cloture (limit debate) by consent of less than two-thirds (the present requisite) of the senators, after a reasonable number of days during which all views have had time for adequate expression and consideration by the Senate and the public. This year two such proposals were introduced; one, providing for cloture by a majority and the other, by three-fifths of those senators present and voting. Instead of being acted upon a 50 to 46 vote referred both proposals to the Rules Committee with a pledge by Democratic Floor Leader Mike Mansfield of Montana that one of them would be brought to the floor for consideration later in the session. Liberal senators freely predict, however, that neither proposal can be passed in this Congress or the next.

This prediction seems dishearteningly logical. Any proposed change

of Rule 22 will have to be debated under the rules now in force, and the vote supporting referral indicates that the necessary two-thirds of the Senate probably will not support an effort to prevent a filibuster. Once again we seem to have lost an opportunity to change "congressional procedures" which have fathered, encouraged and protected the filibuster.

It seems unbelievable that a little group of willful men can render the great government of the United States helpless and contemptible—in a time that President Kennedy has called "an hour of national opportunity." How did we get into this position?

This question and the argument surrounding it has existed almost as long as Congress, though seldom is it considered aside from proposals which provoke the strategy. A diary reference by a member of the first Senate reads: "The confidence of the people was departing from us, owing to our unreasonable delays." Under the rules first adopted by the Senate in 1789, a majority could close debate by supporting a motion calling for the "previous question"—a parliamentary maneuver familiar to most of us and provided for in the rules of 39 state senates and the British Parliament. The procedure was used so seldom that it was dropped in 1807 and unlimited debate was permitted until 1917 when a proposal to arm American merchant ships as a defense against marauding German submarines was talked to death by its opponents. This so-called irresponsible conduct spurred Senator Tom Walsh (D-Mont.) at the opening of the special session of the 65th Congress to introduce a resolution asserting the right of the Senate to adopt new rules. He hoped this would provide a method for countering the strategy which permitted the defeat of a bill without a vote on its merits.

Opponents of the Walsh move argued that new rules could not be adopted since the Senate was a "continuing body," proved by the fact that two-thirds of its members carried over from one Congress to the next. Therefore, they contended, the old rules continued in force until amended or abolished.

WALSH UNSUCCESSFUL

Walsh argued persuasively, though not successfully, against the "continuing body" theory by affirming that all business pending before the Senate dies at the conclusion of a Congress and that its staff officers must be reappointed on each opening day. It would be "at war with the theory of parliamentary government the world over" to hold the Senate a continuing body, he claimed. Instead of approving on its opening day the Walsh suggestion to adopt new rules, the Senate appointed a committee to draft an amendment to the old rules which would provide some way to end debate. The committee's proposal, subsequently adopted as Rule 22, has seldom been effectively invoked.

The rule provided that if 16 senators file a motion to close debate on "any pending measure," and if two-thirds of the senators "present and voting" agree, cloture can be invoked, debate limited and the measure brought to a vote.

The vulnerability of the rule was soon exposed. Two years after its adoption a motion to close debate on certain reservations to the proposed peace treaty with Germany was declared out of order by the President of the Senate who held that the *treaty* itself was the "pending measure" not the reservations being debated!

The rule's effectiveness was further weakened in 1946 when presiding Senator McKellar (D-Tenn.) stated that debate could not be limited on a motion to approve and amend the *Daily Journal*. This is a routine motion at the start of each day's session, and a filibuster at this point prevents the consideration of any other business. There was no way to stop them.

In 1948 another interpretation of the "any pending measure" phrase again frustrated meaningful action. During a filibuster on a motion to bring an anti-poll tax bill to the floor, Senator Arthur Vandenberg (R-Mich.) ruled that cloture could not be applied to a *motion to consider* a bill. Vandenberg was forced to admit later that "in the final analysis, the Senate has no effective cloture rule at all."

CLOTURE STRUGGLE

Following the 1948 election the Democrats in Congress hoped to avoid a bitter and divisive cloture struggle, but Republicans, sensing an opportunity to widen the Democratic North-South breach, needled the opposition until action was taken. Several proposed rules changes were introduced. One, Senate Resolution 15, provided that cloture could be applied to any business, instead of being limited to "any pending measure." When an effort was made to bring the resolution to the floor, Senator Fulbright (D-Ark.) read lengthy passages from the *Encyclopaedia Brittanica*, Senator McClellan (D-Ark.) called it a compromise with Communism, and Senator Maybank (D-S. C.) claimed that the real purpose of the proposed change was to "wreck the country's business interests!"

Vice-President Barkley ruled that the move to invoke cloture was in order even though directed at debate on a motion to consider the resolution and not the "pending measure" itself. The Senate overruled Barkley when this reversal of Senator Vandenberg's earlier ruling was appealed and the filibuster continued by a vote of 23 Republicans and 23 Democrats. (18 from the South and the other 5 from Arizona, Oklahoma, Kentucky and Nevada.)

Under the guise of a compromise, the same coalition of Southern Democrats and Northern Republicans then amended Rule 22 so cleverly that it became *more difficult* than ever to limit debate. The amendment extended the application of the Rule to "any measure, motion or other matter pending before the Senate," but complicated its application in two ways. First, it provided that debate could be limited only by a two-thirds vote of the *entire* Senate; second, it prohibited cloture on a motion to change the rules. Efforts of Republican leaders to label this change an improvement failed, for civil-rights advocates and other liberal groups cried "sham" and "fraud" and continued to press for

a meaningful amendment to the rule.

At the opening of the 83rd Congress, following General Eisenhower's election, Senator Anderson (D-N.M.) followed the strategy of his early predecessor, Tom Walsh, and moved adoption of new rules. He planned to propose readoption of all the old ones except Rule 22 which was to be changed to permit a simple majority of the Senate to limit debate after a specified number of days of discussion. Senator Taft (R-Ohio) blocked this gambit by successfully moving to table the motion.

In 1957, a similar effort to provide for majority rule was halted when a tabling motion by Senator Lyndon Johnson was supported by 62 per cent of the Senate Republicans and 56 per cent of the Democrats. Though the Democratic majority was able to push the first civil rights bill in 82 years through this Congress, the threat of an endless filibuster was effectively utilized to emasculate some of its most meaningful provisions.

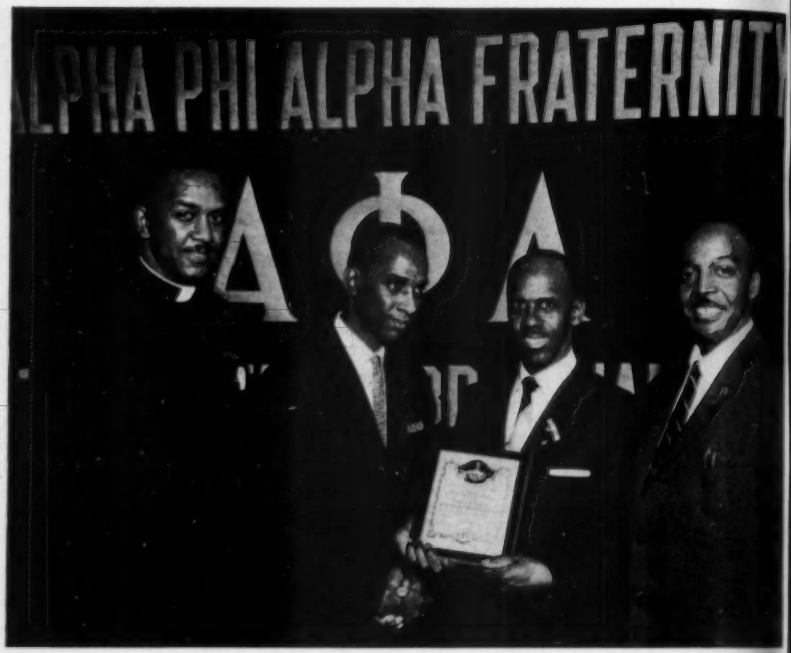
EARLIER RULE ADOPTED

Senator Johnson again opposed a majority rule in the 86th Congress, but successfully sponsored a return to the earlier two-thirds of those *present and voting*. The same resolution, however, provided that the Senate was a "continuing body" and hence its rules carry over from one Congress to the next. This latter change was directed at the strategy introduced by Senator Walsh and followed by Senator Anderson and others of moving to adopt new rules at the opening of a new Congress.

Rule 22 as it now stands permits cloture only when *two-thirds* of those *present and voting* support a cloture motion after the filing of a petition for cloture signed by at least sixteen Senators. The probability that this can be effective when civil rights legislation is an issue is extremely slim, for Senate history shows nearly full attendance on all crucial roll calls.

The two proposals now resting in the Senate Rules Committee provide for cloture by a *majority* and by *three-fifths* of those present and voting. It appears doubtful that either of these will pass, since the opponents of the filibuster could not muster a majority to prevent referral. The three-fifths majority proposal might get through if it can attract a coalition comparable to that which supported the enlargement of the Rules Committee in the House. A combination of President Kennedy, Vice-President Johnson, a number of Senate Republicans and several of the Democrats, who voted with the South to send both proposals to the committee, conceivably could change the two-thirds requirement of Rule 22 to three-fifths and break any filibuster directed at such an effort. If this does not occur, it is equally improbable that the change can be accomplished at the opening of the next Congress because Vice-President Johnson, who will be presiding, is substantially responsible for the present provision in the rule that the Senate is a "continuing body."

The tremendous demands upon the new administration to move swiftly in meeting the challenges of the New Frontier will add pressure to end this recurring national legislative pa-



Cecil Layne

FRATERNAL FREEDOM FIGHTERS—*Zeta Zeta Lambda Chapter of Alpha Phi Alpha fraternity is now a life member of the NAACP. William Holland (2nd from R), chapter president, Ozone Park, N. Y., receives the plaque from Herbert Wright, NAACP youth secretary. Rev. Robert Ross Johnson is at left; Thomas Jordan, at right.*

---

ralysis which prevents solution of what Secretary of State Dean Rusk has described as one of our major challenges: insuring human freedom and respect for individual rights.

In 1893, Senator Henry Cabot Lodge said of the Senate's inability to control debate: "A body which cannot govern itself will not long hold the respect of the people who have chosen it to govern the country . . ." In 1961 we may say with equal conviction that a nation which cannot effectively legislate to meet the problems of the time will not long hold the respect of a world to which it is attempting to give moral and political leadership.

Edward M. Jones

MATTIE SIMON *of Lansing, Mich., presenting her $500 NAACP-life-membership check to Stuart J. Dunnings, Jr., life membership chairman of the Lansing branch in the presence of branch president Mrs. Josephine Wharton.*

Installation of Richmond, Ky., branch officials: from L, Mrs. Susie Oldham, treas.; Mrs. Helen Phelps, pres.; Dotson Taylor Bellew, vice-pres.; and Mrs. Alma Kavanaugh, sec.

Rho chapter Alpha Phi Alpha, Philadelphia, makes final $200 payment on chapter NAACP life membership: from L, James Baker, exec. sec. Philadelphia branch; R. A. Durant, Rho pres.; Dr. Leroy Gates, treas.; and Charles Braddeus, regional vice-pres.

Some of the members of the Hartford, Conn., youth council which contributed $500 to the NAACP.

Old Timers 30-Year-Club, Inc., Philadelphia, Pa., exhibits its NAACP life membership plaque at the O. V. Catto Lodge Hall. From L: Walter A. Willis, Jr.: vice-president; William Monroe, president; Clifton Bush, business manager; and John Hodges of NAACP.

Mrs. Margaret Dickens, deputy of Robinson Grand Court, Heronies of Jericho, Rebecca Court #34, presents NAACP life membership check to NAACP's Calvin Banks. From L: George Raymond, Mrs. Dickens, Calvin Banks, Olee Barbour, Charles Bailey, and Rev. Ulysses Brown.

Philadelphia chapter of National Smart Set makes second payment on its life membership to Philadelphia, Pa., branch. From L: Mrs. Horace Davenport, James Baker of the branch, Mrs. Melvin Howell, and Mrs. Theodosia Thomas.

■ **What has happened to the Cuban Negro under Fidel Castro**

Castro and the Cuban Negro

By Juan René Betancourt

In Cuba, as in most parts of the New World, there are differences in the treatment of Negro and white citizens. And the differences are so great that they may be correctly labeled "racial discrimination." This is an evil which I have fought in my native country for the last twenty-five years and, as a consequence, I have had firsthand experience with it. Cuban Negroes have fought for their rights by grouping themselves into societies. There are one or two in each town and these local groups are integrated in provincial federations and the National Federation. It is the National Federation which spearheads the fight against racial discrimination.

The day after Castro's victory the Revolutionary Government made me a delegate-interventor in the National Federation of Negro societies, the island's main Negro organization. This was done because all previous leaders of the Federation had been involved in the Batista dictatorship, where they had occupied ministerial and senatorial posts. When Castro came to power these individuals were obliged to flee the country. And I was also the founder of the National Organization for Economic Rehabilitation of the Negro, an organization which opposed those who had delivered the National Federation to dictator Batista.

My job was to reorganize the provincial federations and to prepare for the Seventh National Convention of Negro Societies. My purpose was to reactivate the normal activities of the Negro movement and to present the Castro government with a specific program designed to make the Cuban Negro a first-class rather than a fifth-class citizen. I began by

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DR. JUAN RENÉ BETANCOURT is a lawyer by profession and was secretary-general of la Sociedad "Victoria" in Camagüey and cultural secretary of la Federación Provincial de Sociedades Negras de Camagüey. Castro made him a supervising-delegate of la Federación de Sociedades Negras de Cuba. Dr. Betancourt is the author of many books among which are *Mi Opinion y Mi Raza* (1945) and *Doctrina Negra* (1955).

reorganizing the province of Pinar del Río. There were twenty-seven societies in this province, but at the time only four of them were in Communist hands. Because of the opposition of Communist delegates, I had to issue three different meeting notices before I could convene the congress.

The Communists said I wanted to become a government minister and that I had no authority to call the meeting. They even threatened to show up with armed groups as representatives of certain organizations which actually did not exist. When I refused them admittance, they created a disturbance, and even insulted me. Meanwhile, the Communist organ, *Hoy*, began to attack me with daily calumnies. These attacks, plus those of hypocritical Salvador García Aguero in "The Outpost of Ideas," a Communist party radio program, created confusion and bewilderment.

I had to exclude the Communists before I could successfully reorganize the Federation of Negro Societies in Pinar del Rio, and I had to place a disciplinary squad at the doors to bar them from meetings, as was the case with the Sociedad Luz de Occidente of San Cristóbal, Pinar del Río. Sole purpose of the Communists was to create disorder and to break up the organizations. Similar disturbances took place in the other provinces. We did not want to exclude anyone; our desire was to welcome the delegates from all societies, whatever their political or social ideology; but we always found it impossible to come to an understanding with the Communists. They had only one objective: to prevent reorganization of the provincial federations and the holding of a National Congress.

COMMUNISTS IN POWER

Although I was accustomed to seeing the Communists working to get control of various movements and organizations (workers, women, peasants, and Negroes), I was somewhat disconcerted when I discovered that their real objective was to destroy. When the Communists are out of power, they are opportunistic and work to occupy key positions in organizations and movements. Once they obtain power, as in Cuba today, they reveal their real colors: to suppress all opposition, dissident opinions, and rival organizations. Cuban labor unions, for example, have been emasculated; they have no power nor functions as labor unions; they are under government control. On Labor Day they did not make a single demand and Sr. David Salvador, leader of the national federation of labor unions, was jailed when he opposed usurpation of power by the Ministry of Labor.

This is why the Communists opposed my reorganization of Negro organizations. After I had overcome these obstacles, I visited the President to inform him that the Seventh National Convention would be held November 26-28, 1959. To my surprise, while I was visiting the society of *El Fenix* in Trinidad, Las Villas, it was broadcast that I had "resigned" from my post because of the pressure of other duties.

Nobody in Cuba believed Castro a Communist and he has emphatical-

DR. J. R. BETANCOURT

ly denied being one although the membership and the policies of his first cabinet suggested Communist connections despite the fact that none was a Communist. But Castro eliminated all non-Communist ministers within a few months, replacing them with anonymous Communists. He made, however, few replacements in the lower echelons because these had been controlled by the Communists from the day Castro seized power. Since Communist theory is that they are the proletariat and that class conflict has been eliminated, non-Communist organizations are not needed. This dogma naturally brought the Negro organizations into collision with the government.

The Negro societies in Cuba are very poor associations. Traditionally, it has been the policy of the Cuban government to flatter the Negroes by giving them contributions for the establishment of Negro organizations. I was always opposed to this policy because it attacked effects and not causes. Now, under Castro, the situation has worsened: instead of giving the societies money, the societies must contribute to the government. They are obliged to hold public dances and then to turn over the proceeds to the government for agrarian reform and, more recently, for arms, planes, and industrialization. Administrations before Castro were made up of competing political parties and as a consequence they were obliged to appoint Negroes to important government posts. But since continuance of the present Cuban government does not depend upon free elections, and since much of its power is derived from a formidable police and military apparatus, there has been no need to appoint Negroes to important governmental posts. The Cuban Negro is today further removed than ever from the government payroll. Nor is that all.

RACIAL DISCRIMINATION IN CUBA

In order to exploit human weakness, while giving play to flamboyant demagoguery, this master of deceit that is Sr. Fidel Castro has decreed that dances must be held every Saturday and Sunday in select places which had previously barred Negroes. Such action, coupled with an intensive governmental propaganda campaign, has led many Negroes to believe that in this way they are taking reprisals against their discriminators and achieving racial equality by being allowed to patronize previously "all-white" places. These same Negroes do not patronize their own organizations, which are impover-

ished and closing their doors. Yet Sr. Castro and the Communists are receiving thousands of dollars weekly from Negroes at government-sponsored dances.

The Communist regime in Cuba has declared over and over again, with typical insistence and boring emphasis, that racial discrimination has been eliminated on the island. Public announcements of the Castro regime would make it appear that racial discrimination is something to be established or eliminated on the basis of a governmental decree. Castro's regime ignores the historical, economic, and social factors which are the genesis of discrimination and which continue to perpetuate it. Nor does the government seem aware of the truth that a government may, by its policies and practices, create an *ambiance* favorable to racial equality. A mere governmental fiat, however, does not meet the problem. Hence Sr. Castro's assertion that his government has eradicated racial discrimination in Cuba is not only false but is bleating demagoguery.

The Communists kept the offices of the National Federation of Negro Societies open for two or three months after they had decided that I had "resigned." Then they distributed the furniture among themselves and abolished the local. Provincial federations had no better luck; they have all disappeared. Of the 256 Negro societies in Cuba, many have had to close their doors and others are in death agony. One can truthfully say, and this is without the slightest exaggeration, that the Negro movement in Cuba died at the hands of Sr. Fidel Castro.

CASTRO CYNICISM

Yet this is the man who had the cynical impudence to visit the United States in 1960 for the purpose of censuring American racial discrimination. Although this evil quite obviously exists in the United States, Castro is not precisely the man to offer America solutions, nor even to pass judgment. Here is a man with the total powers of a dictator, yet he has not eliminated the racial evil in his own country, Cuba. What he has done is to heighten it in a most scandalous way. He has merely brought added hunger, misery, and misfortune to the lot of the Cuban Negro.

When Fidel Castro returned to Cuba from New York, he had us to understand that he had won over the American Negro and that he was going to bring 300 of them to Cuba to view the "terrestrial paradise." Cuban Negro leaders merely looked at each other when they heard this announcement. They asked: "What's he going to show them?" Consider one fact. Whereas Castro could stay at a Negro-owned hotel in Harlem, Cuban Negroes do not own a single hotel, or commercial establishment or industry. And Castro has done nothing to remedy this situation; what he has done is to reduce all Cuban citizens to the same miserable standard of living by his assaults upon the country's economy.

I am convinced that Communism gets a toe-hold in countries not because of the magic of its Utopian doctrines, but because of the ignorance and the poor tactics of capitalists and democratic leaders with their pig-headed resistance to even the minimal demands of the people.

This, I believe, is the genesis of those dissatisfied and resentful masses which nourish the Communist party. I do not understand why intelligent business men do not see the advantage in lowering their profits by twenty or thirty per cent, and thus to keep their compatriots happy, rather than to have international Communism take over their country as in Cuba. Now they have lost all their property and their earnings—and in some cases their lives.

Cubans are a good example of this shortsightedness. They have formed many organizations of exiled Cubans to work for the downthrow of Castro and his Communist regime. All are controlled by white Cubans, members of the upper or middle-middle class, who have refused to accept Castro's pattern of subhuman living. Yet they do not exhibit the slightest interest in the fate of the Cuban Negro. They seem not to care that he lived a miserable and unhappy life before Castro and that he is continuing to live the same way under Castro. Nor do they seem worried that Cuban Negroes may continue to live as pariahs even after Castro has gone—even though the future government might be a so-called democratic government. None of these exile-groups has commited itself to a non-discrimination program should they get in power.

The Cuban Negro is never mentioned in their programs or pronouncements. Whenever this omission is brought to their attention, their reply is that they are such good democratic souls that race does not exist for them. White and black Cubans are all Cubans. It is a shame that these organizations which would rescue Cuba from the clutches of Communism and which are working to bring freedom and the rule of law to Cuba do not wish to strike off the chains of racial prejudice. They show no generosity toward the Cuban Negro, who has given his blood and brawn to make Cuba.

An exception to this general attitude is exemplified by the Christian Democratic Party in exile. It is, to date, the only one that has shown itself ready to consider and to even discuss a serious program for bettering the lot of the Cuban Negro: A program to be put into effect after the fall of the present Communist regime in Cuba.

For my part, I am here fulfilling a historic mission for my country and for my race. I quote that great Cuban Negro, Don Juan Gualberto Gomez: "I hope that the former will never ask me to do anything that will prejudice the latter." I insist that the Negroes have specific rights to defend and that none of the revolutions, neither those for independence, nor the Communist, nor this one for democratic restoration, has had nor will have automatic effects against racial discrimination. Those who affirm that the condemnation of the ills of the Negro and the demand for their elimination divides Cubans and creates racial problems are either naive or unconsiously anti-Negro. As everyone knows, a sickness which is never treated can hardly be cured. The fact that we disregard the existence of an object does not, by any means, eliminate its presence.

(Translated from the Spanish by Brandon Robinson)

College and School News

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY will start a new program next fall on the problems of Africa to be called "Program of Studies on Africa." Aim of the program is to prepare students for careers in which they will deal with the political social, and economic problems of the continent.

■

Eugene Gay, a native of Miami, Florida, has been elected by the faculty of WILLIAM PENN BUSINESS INSTITUTE, Philadelphia, Pa., as "student-of-the-month."

■

BISHOP COLLEGE will hold its annual ministers' institute May 2-5 to discuss the theme "The Christian Church in Cultural Perspective."

■

Dr. Ann S. Cochran, professor at MORRIS BROWN COLLEGE, reports $5,500 in the college's annual founders' day student-faculty campaign. Total amount raised by students and faculty is $13,700.

Since Dr. Cochran has been on the staff, she has raised a total of $60,000 for the college.

Two Morris Brown students, Mary Ann Smith and Eddie Walker, have been award Woodrow Wilson Fellowships for 1961-62.

■

THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN international center will make a nationwide, six-month study of African students in the USA, with a $1,900 grant from the Institute of International Education.

The survey will try to learn what motivated the African students to study in the USA; what educational, financial, social, and personal problems they face here; what their fu-

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ture plans are; academic and institutional changes they have experienced in the USA; and how they have changed their previous opinions, if at all.

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Cheyney State College

Approximately thirty students representing colleges and universities in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Pennsylvania spent part of their spring vacation at the Intercollegiate Conference on Community Action in Race Relations. The conference was held at WESTERN COLLEGE FOR WOMEN in Oxford, Ohio, March 25-30.

■

Public relations men from thirty colleges throughout the southeast were in attendance at the fourth annual Public Relations Institute held at JOHNSON C. SMITH UNIVERSITY January 20-21. The institute theme was "Projecting a Program of Public Relations for our Colleges."

Spiritual emphasis week was conducted at JCSM by Rev. William Nelson, associate professor of sociology at Maryland State College, March 6-12.

■

"Areas of Possible Misunderstanding Between Africans and Americans" was subject of a symposium held at the NEW SCHOOL FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH on March 22. Panelists were Dr. Mohammed Keita, professor from University of Cairo; Andreamaharo, Madagascar; and Mungai Mbayah, a New School student from Kenya.

■

Dr. Gregory Newton and Atty. Carl Moultrie, grand basileus and executive secretary, respectively, of the OMEGA PSI PHI FRATERNITY recently made a nationwide tour of fraternity chapters.

The CTS BULLETIN, published by the Community Talent Search, an activity of the National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro Students, reports how fast and far the movement in behalf of the special educational problems of culturally and economically deprived students has progressed since the Pioneer Project #43 was launched in Manhattan.

■

CENTRAL STATE COLLEGE observed 74th Charter Day in March. As in the past, the funds raised during the exercises are to be used to improve conditions on the campus.

■

TALLADEGA COLLEGE students marched into protest history on January 5 in Anniston, Alabama. Their march around the courthouse and the jail, as well as other public buildings, was voted on in a student body meeting the night of January 4.

The protest was against an assault by several men which took place on the morning of January 2 at the Southern Railway station in Anniston, and the fact that only one man was apprehended. Mr. Arthur Bacon, a senior from West Palm Beach, Florida, was returning from the Christmas holidays. He waited in the interstate waiting room until arrival of the college station wagon, scheduled to meet a train due from the north.

When the car, driven by Mr. Moses Lawler of Talladega, reached the station, Mr. Bacon went out and took a seat in it. Several men came up, opened the doors, and attacked both occupants. As one or more of the assailants struck Mr. Lawler someone exclaimed, "He's not the one!" Mr. Bacon was then pulled from the car, pushed onto the sidewalk, kicked and beaten with instruments about the head and back. A forest ranger driving by stopped and broke up the attack. The assailants fled.

Mr. Bacon was removed by ambulance to the Anniston hospital, from which he was brought to the college infirmary that afternoon for complete examination and necessary treatment. Mr. Lawler, with glasses broken, several teeth knocked out, and face bleeding, drove the station wagon and two passengers back to the campus.

The administration, through President Arthur D. Gray, immediately called Anniston police officials to urge arrest of all assailants, and contacted Attorney Arthur D. Shores of Birmingham, lawyer on the Board of Trustees, to inquire into possible civil rights violation.

■

Student choirs from Xavier University, St. Augustine's College, Virginia Union University, Tuskegee Institute, and Lane College were heard on the ABC Radio Network series, "Negro College Choirs," as a part of choral-programs of member institutions of the UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND.

■

G. Mennen Williams, assistant secretary of state for African affairs; ambassador-at-large W. Avrell Harriman; and Eric Johnston, president of the Motion Picture Association of America; were among the speak-

ers at the conference on African resources held March 27-29 at NEW YORK UNIVERSITY's Washington Square Center.

Other speakers were His Excellency Jaja Wachuku, chairman of the Nigerian delegation to the United Nations and of the United Nations conciliation commission on the Congo; His Excellency Louis Ignacio Pinto, ambassador from Dahomey to the United States; Robert I. Fleming, director, West Africa Program, Rockefeller Brothers Fund; and Dr. George D. Stoddard, chancellor and executive vice-president of NYU.

■

The INTERDENOMINATIONAL THEOLOGICAL CENTER held a triple celebration — dedication, convocation, and inauguration — May 2-3 in Atlanta, which brought together four participating seminaries: Gammon, Morehouse School of Religion, Philips School of Theology, and Turner Theological Seminary.

President Harry Richardson announces eight grants to students at ITC from the Protestant Fellowship Program of the Fund for Theological Education.

Eight Biblical Scholars of the South held their annual spring meetings recently at ITC.

■

Dr. Loren C. Eisley, internationally known anthropologist, author, and provost of the University of Pennsylvania, became the recipient of the John Burroughs Medal for 1961 at ceremonies held by the John Burroughs Association on April 3 at THE AMERICAN MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY. The award was made in recognition of Dr. Eisley's latest book, *The Firmament of Time.*

The Hall of the Biology of Man, one of the most comprehensive exhibitions of its kind in the world, was opened to the public on March 21 at the AMNH.

■

Dr. Robert Percy Barnes, professor of chemistry at Howard, served as visiting scientist at NORFOLK STATE COLLEGE April 6-7.

■

Annual work conference of the Virginia Congress of Colored Parents and Teachers was held at VIRGINIA STATE COLLEGE March 23-24. Conference theme was "Helping Children to Grow."

Dr. Nathaniel Gatlin, head of the VSC department of music, has recently had a composition of one of his students accepted for publication by the Edward B. Marks Music Corporation, New York City. The student is James McCullough of Richmond.

More than 100 volumes in all areas of economics from the estate of the late Dr. Wilson Williams, professor of economics at VSC for many years, has been presented to

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the college library by Dr. Williams' widow, Mrs. Carol W. Williams.

■

Sixteenth annual institute of successful marriage and family living was held at MOREHOUSE COLLEGE March 15-17. The institute theme was "Religious Attitudes, Sex, and Family Life."

Four Morehouse juniors will receive grants of $3,000 each for travel and study in Europe during the academic year 1961-62: Robert Lee Allen, Jr., Wendell Anderson, Edward Curry, and Walter Rolling. These grants are made possible by Charles E. Merrill, Jr., Morehouse board chairman.

Four seniors have been awarded Woodrow Wilson Foundation fellowship for graduate study during the academic year 1961-62: Melvin Butler, Alton Hornsby, Jr., Charles Merideth, and Charles Lyles.

■

Student sit-in leader Rev. Lawson of Nashville, Tenn., delivered the third annual Gandhi Memorial Lecture at HOWARD UNIVERSITY on April 11. Mr. Lawson evaluated the gains and accomplishments of nonviolent methods of protest in the United States.

Dean Erwin Griswold of the Harvard Law School was inauguration speaker at the installation of Dr. James M. Nabrit as the fourteenth president of Howard. Representatives of nearly 300 institutions participated in the exercises.

University co-ed Ida Smith of New York City made a rare appearance at the U. S. Millitary Academy at West Point, N. Y., on March 6. She lectured to a third-year political science class on her summer experience in Ghana as a member of Operation Crossroads Africa.

Howard officials announced that thirty full scholarships will be awarded to outstanding high-school science students for an eight-week, college-level research program, beginning June 26. The award will cover the cost of tuition and fees and pay up to $100 for living expenses and $30 for travel to out-of-town students.

■

A two-day conference on reading was held at the ATLANTA UNIVERSITY center April 21-22. The meeting was sponsored by the Lilly Endowment and considered diagnostic techniques and instructional practices in college reading programs.

The Trevor Arnett Library presented an exhibition of the works of Lloyd McNeill, Atlanta artist, March 6-25.

■

VIRGINIA UNION UNIVERSITY is offering a summer-science training program for qualified eleventh and twelfth grade students this year. The program has been made possible by a grant from the National Science Foundation.

Fourth annual church leadership conference was held at VUU March 17-18 under the sponsorship of the VUU school of religion and the churches in the Richmond area.

■

BOSTON UNIVERSITY sponsored a discussion of racial and religious

discrimination in Boston, over the university's station, WBUR-TV, on March 8. The four-man panel was moderated by Dr. Bernard Rubin, associate professor of public relations and governmental affairs at the university.

Starting April 4, Thomas Lionel Hodgkin, well-known British writer, began a series of lectures on "Islam and the Modern State in Africa, South of the Sahara."

■

Annual festival of the North Carolina High School Drama Association was held at SHAW UNIVERSITY March 16-18. Mrs. Julia Hoffler of Elizabeth City Teachers College served as critic-judge.

Twenty-first annual theological alumni day was observed at Shaw on April 5, with Rev. Moses Newsome, pastor New First Baptist Church, Charleston, West Virginia, as the principal speaker. Second annual pre-college workshop was held on the campus April 14-15.

Shaw reports 36 students on its first semester honor roll, of which 7 are freshmen; 6, sophomores; 9, juniors; and 14, seniors.

Among recent university speakers are Dr. Richard Henneman, professor of psychology, University of Virginia; Delbar Keily, associate professor of meteorology, Massachusetts Institute of Technology; Dr. Alvin Wolfe, department of anthropology, Lafayette College; Edward McVeigh, director of personnel, U. S. Department of Labor; and Eldred Jones, lecturer, Sierra Leone, West Africa.

■

Casper Jordan, chief librarian, WILBERFORCE UNIVERSITY, has been appointed to the Nioga Library System, Niagara Falls, New York.

■

MORGAN STATE COLLEGE's department of economics was host to the second annual small business institute April 3-May 8 in cooperation with the Small Business Administration, Washington, D. C. The college was host to the twenty-first annual conference of The College Language Association April 13-15.

Morgan senior George Gentry is recipient of a joint Southern Education Foundation-Woodrow Wilson national fellowship for the summer and the 1960-61 academic year.

A total of 215 Morgan students have been named to the dean's honor list for the first semester 1960-61.

The third summer science training program for secondary-school students will be held at Morgan June 26-August 4.

THE NEXT ISSUE OF *THE CRISIS*, THE JUNE-JULY ISSUE, WILL BE OUT JULY 1. *THE CRISIS* IS A BIMONTHLY DURING THE SUMMER MONTHS.

Looking and Listening . . .

FEDERAL AID-TO-EDUCATION

Statement of Clarence Mitchell, director of the Washington Bureau of the NAACP, before the General Sub-Committee on Education of the House Committee on Education and Labor, Tuesday, March 21, 1961.

MR. CHAIRMAN and members of the Sub-Committee, I wish to thank you for this opportunity to appear and present testimony on behalf of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

At our 1960 Convention in St. Paul, Minnesota, we passed the following resolution on federal aid-to-education:

"From its earliest years of operation, the NAACP has supported the principle that there must be no discrimination in the expenditure of public funds. We have consistently and clearly reaffirmed that principle in all of our conventions. We do so again now. We have advocated the inclusion of an anti-segregation amendment in federal aid-to-education legislation. We have worked for that amendment in the halls of Congress and before the committees of Congress. Representative Adam Clayton Powell has sponsored such an amendment and it is now a part of the bill passed by the House in the second session of the 86th Congress. We state unequivocally that we want that amendment kept in the bill, (H.R. 10128 — Passed May 26, 1960). We want the bill passed. We shall interpret any action aimed at defeating or dropping the amendment as an action against civil rights. We shall never cease to resist the dishonest and undemocratic idea that the taxpayers of all the states should be called upon to build segregated schools in a few states; nor shall be silent when such proposals are made. We shall continue to resist the spending of public funds to undermine the Constitution of the United States.

"We remind our members that, in judging the attitudes of their Congresmen, the only way a Congressman can be honestly for the Powell Amendment is to vote for the bill with the Amendment in it, and not to vote the Amendment and then vote against the bill."

Mr. Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the NAACP, made the following statement on March 2, 1961, in response to a question from the *New York Herald Tribune*.

"We believe emphatically that federal funds for education should not be allocated to those states which have failed to desegregate their schools in accordance with the Supreme Court ruling of 1954 that racial segregation in public education is unconstitutional.

"We believe further that not only the projected funds should be withheld from such states, but that all

federal assistance presently being sent to the states for any phase of education should be withheld if the programs administered with said funds are racially segregated or discriminatory.

"We believe further that the present allocations to the states for education should be reviewed in the cases of those states which have instituted desegregation on a minimum, token or extremely long-term basis or under legislative or administrative machinery designed to postpone indefinitely compliance with the 1954 ruling.

"In such states we believe the federal government should allocate funds on the basis of the average of pupils in daily attendance in integrated school districts only.

"We believe further that federal funds for assistance to the states, not only for education but for any program, should be withheld from the states that practice segregation in the execution of such programs.

"The Constitution is the federal compact of all the states, and the three branches of the federal government, as well as the governments of the states, are obligated to uphold and protect it. It seems to us well within this obligation to uphold and protect for the legislative and executive branches of the federal government, or either of them, to refuse to continue the subsidization of defiance by certain of the states of the ruling of the nation's Supreme Court on constitutionality.

"Finally, it seems to us that there can be no valid talk of separating problems of desegregation in public education from the problems of education. Practically, any such attempted separation would mean merely untangling and improving education for white youths while leaving desegregation to the resourceful whimsies of chance, politics, bigotry, and manifold economic and personal pressures.

"The result would have to be a widening of the already disgraceful gap and the continued crippling of more than two million Negro youth preparing for life in 1980.

"The pronouncements and performance of the white adult segregationists today underscore frighteningly the damage they and the nation are suffering as a consequence of the appalling shortcomings of the lily-white school system. A similar damage has been visited upon Negro adults by separate jim-crow schools.

"The children of both groups will be unable to meet the demands of their world if by some intellectual spin-out or some political pretense or some timid withdrawal, segregation in schools in some fashion is separated from schools."

Opponents of an anti-segregation amendment usually assert that its inclusion will kill the bill. Boiled down to its bare bones, their argument is an attempt to persuade the colored citizens of our country to forget that the United States Supreme Court has declared that racial segregation in public schools is unconstitutional. We are asked to step aside and to look in the other direction while millions of tax dollars are used to underwrite the building and operation of public schools that everyone knows will be segregated on the basis of race. Speaking on the basis of twenty years of experience in Washington, I do not know of

any group of American citizens who have been asked to submit to similar humiliation from the National Government.

On the practical vote-counting side of this matter, I believe that the following observation based on the 1960 experience in the House are important:

"(1) There were 83 northern Republicans and non-southern Democrats who voted against the Powell amendment but voted for the bill on final passage. If all of the non-southern Democrats and Republicans who voted on final passage had voted for the amendment in the first instance, the amendment would have been adopted without the votes of those who supported the amendment, but voted against the bill on final passage.

"(2) There is a contention that the Powell amendment causes Southerners who are in favor of federal aid-to-education to vote against the bill. The House had an opportunity to test this when Representative Carroll Kearns (R., Pa.) made a motion to recommit the bill and report out the Administration's bill which did not contain the Powell amendment. Only twelve southern Democrats voted to recommit the bill and have it returned to the floor without the Powell amendment.

"(3) It is contended that when the anti-segregation amendment is up for a vote, southern members walk off the floor in order that the amendment may prevail and then return to kill the entire bill.

(The chart on the next page refutes that statement.)

It would be possible to present an awesome list of happenings which prove that those who would be entrusted with the expenditure of federal funds in certain states do not have the slightest intention of using money to promote the education of all children. To offer such a list would be an insult to the intelligence of those who read the daily newspapers.

Governors are busy issuing flaming statements of defiance, state legislatures are cluttering the statute books and courts with unconstitutional laws and mobs are chasing white parents out of town in New Orleans just because two public schools have been opened to a handful of colored childen. All of this represents action that the states promote, or at least tolerate. In addition, the federal government is busily extending racial segregation in schools through the Department of Health, Education and Welfare under the defense impacted area program.

A particularly flagrant example may be found at the Redstone Arsenal in Alabama. There the federal government transferred to the Huntsville school district twenty-one acres of land to be used for a segregated elementary school for the children of military personnel. At this installation, and many other similar military posts in the South, children whose parents are citizens of northern states are forced to accept segregation in public schools. This is especially ironic because these children would not be in the South if their fathers were not wearing the uniform of their country and standing ready to defend it against at-

tacks from all foreign enemies.

In conclusion, Mr. Chairman, and members of the Sub-committee, we respectfully urge that any bill or bills reported favorably for aid to primary and secondary schools and aid to defense impacted areas include an anti-segregation amendment.

VOTE OF SOUTHERN STATES ON POWELL AMENDMENT AND ON FINAL PASSAGE OF SCHOOL CONSTRUCTION AMENDMENT*

	Total Members	*Against Amend.*	*Paired Against*	*Not Voting*	*Against Bill on final Passage*	*Paired Against*
Total	95	84	9	2	84	5
Ala.	9	0	0	0	9	0
Ark.	6	5	1	0	5	1
Fla.	8	8	0	0	8	0
Ga.	10	10	0	0	10	0
La.	8	4	4	0	4	2
Miss.	6	6	0	0	6	0
N. C.	10	6	3	1	7	0
S. C.	6	6	0	0	6	0
Tex.	22	21	0	1	20	1
Va.	10	9	1	0	9	1

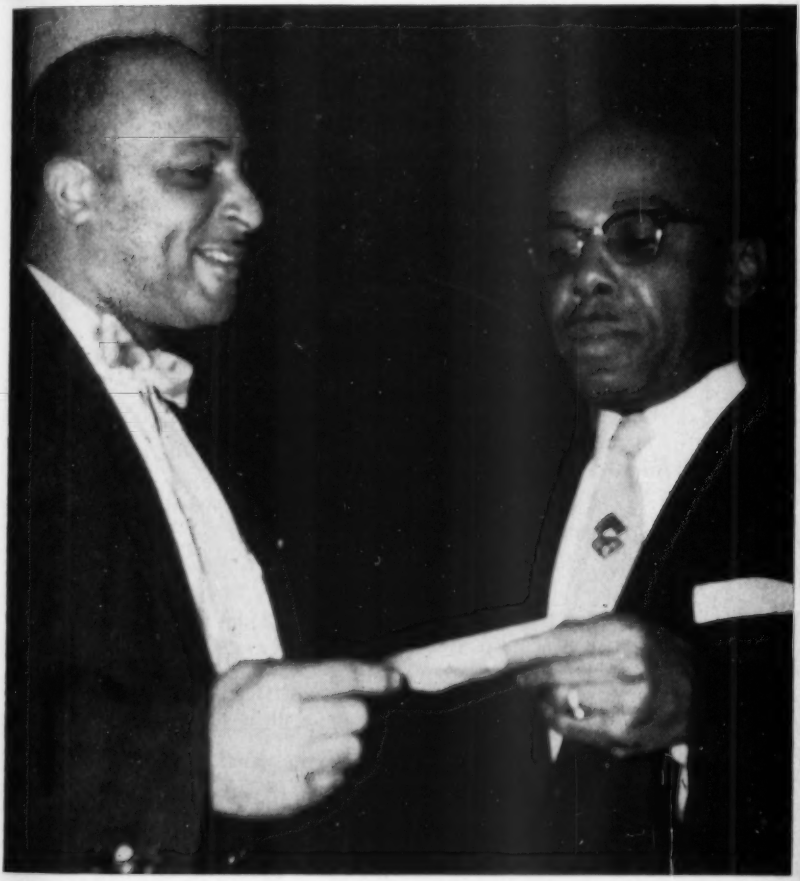
" On final passage of the bill, two of the Louisiana members did not vote. North Carolina had eleven seats and one vacancy. One North Carolina member did not vote on the Powell amendment and three other members of the state delegation did not vote on final passage. Speaker Rayburn of Texas did not vote on the bill or the amendment. The vote on final passage was 206 to 189. It could be argued, of course, that if the five absent southern members had voted the total would have been different. That is true. If the five had voted the bill would have passed 206 to 194."*

52nd NAACP CONVENTION

Plans for the NAACP's 52nd Annual Convention in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, July 10-16, are moving forward with convention officials predicting the largest attendance in the Association's history. All daytime sessions, including plenary meetings, workshops, and regional and committee meetings will be held in the Sheraton Hotel, which will be official convention headquarters.

WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA NAACP *branches receive awards for outstanding membership and freedom-fund totals from Mrs. Daisy L. Lampkin, a member of the NAACP national board. Pictured (from L) are Atty. Henry Smith, president Pa. state conference; Mrs. Hester Thomas, McKeesport branch; Louis Waller, president, Washington county; Will Leavelle, president, Midland; Mrs. Lampkin; Harry McCraw, president, Monongahela Valley; and Mrs. Anna Glears, Beaver Valley.* **BOTTOM:** *Two bands which participated in the Dauphin County, Pa., branch variety show: the Harrisburg Jazz Quartet and the Sonny Dutrieuille Band.*

MRS. LUCINDA J. GORDON, *former executive secretary of the Milwaukee, Wis., branch receives a distinguished service award from Mrs. Wilbur Halyard (R), veteran Milwaukee and Wisconsin state "NAACPer." The award was presented at the annual dinner meeting of the branch in December, 1960.*



DR. NELSON C. BROOKS, JR., *presents a $50 check to Dr. George A. Jones (R), president of the Dauphin county, Pa., branch for a junior life membership for his son, Nelson C. Brooks, III. Dr. Brooks is chairman of the life membership and educational committees of the branch.*

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• • •

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CONFERRING *in Philadelphia on March 2 on plans for the forthcoming 52nd Annual NAACP Convention are Mrs. Gertrude Barnes and Dr. Harry J. Greene (L), co-chairman of the Philadelphia, Pa., branch convention committee, and Dr. John Morsell, assistant to the NAACP executive secretary, and the official in charge of the National Office convention arrangements.*

President A. Leon Higginbotham of the Philadelphia branch says that local convention committees are hard at work to ensure "a grand and productive convention." The 52nd Convention, July 10-16, begins a day earlier than has been traditional. This was the decision of the 1960 Convention, which felt that more time was needed for workshop discussions and for satisfactory discharge of vital assignments.

Along the N.A.A.C.P. Battlefront

MISSISSIPPI MEETING

HEADED by Dr. Aaron Henry, president of the Mississippi state NAACP organization, a delegation of Association officials from the deep-south states conferred in New York City with national-office officers on strategy to be used in the all-out campaign against Mississippism.

Know as "Operation Mississippi," the effort is described by Roy Wilkins, NAACP secretary, as an "all-out and continuous" drive to eliminate discrimination in Mississippi.

This move was prompted by the use of snarling German police dogs on peaceful Negro citizens outside a Jackson, Miss., courthouse, on March 29. They were awaiting results of the trial of the state's first sit-in demonstrators—nine NAACP students from Tougaloo Christian College who sought to use a public library.

The effort will be carried forward in all areas of activity, although the precise items and the exact timetable will emerge later.

Already the NAACP voter registration drive has been under way in Mississippi and will be expanded and pressed in order to increase Negro registration. The State of Mississippi is the lowest in the nation on the number of Negro voters, with less than 4 percent of the eligibles permitted to register.

Another sore point with Negro Mississippians is the double standard of justice in the state for white and Negro citizens. Recently Clyde Kennard, who at one time attempted to register at Mississippi Southern University, was sentenced to seven years at hard labor for allegedly "agreeing to buy" five sacks of stolen chicken feed valued at $25.00.

When Medgar Evers, NAACP state secretary, called Kennard's conviction a "mockery of justice," he in turn was sentenced to jail and fined $100. The case is on appeal.

A young white lawyer in South Mississippi was given a suspended sentence for raping a Negro baby sitter for his children, but Mack Charles Parker, accused of rape of a white woman in 1959, was lynched.

Negro parents who signed petitions to school boards in 1955 and 1956 asking for desegregation were fired from their jobs and many were driven from town.

No school desegregation case has been filed in Mississippi thus far, and it is expected that this will be considered in "Operation Mississippi."

The conferees on April 7 included, besides president Henry, Medgar Evers, field secretary for Mississippi; C. R. Darden of Meridian, Mississippi member of the national board of directors; Jack Young, attorney handling the Tougaloo student cases; and from the national staff, Secretary Wilkins, Robert L. Carter, general counsel; John A. Morsell, assistant to the Secretary; Gloster B. Current, director of branches; Randolph White and Jesse DeVore, of the public relations staff; Mrs. Ruby Hurley, southeast regional secretary; and Herbert Wright, youth secretary.

MORE ON MISSISSIPPI

NEGROES attending an NAACP mass meeting in Jackson on April 9 heard a report that state chain store sales-tax revenues dropped $49,225 as compared with March of 1961.

Julie Wright, assistant NAACP youth secretary, told the protest meeting that this reduction in March, 1961, sales was directly attributed to the Association's selective buying drive.

Miss Wright called upon "Negroes in Jackson and throughout Mississippi to fight for first-class citizenship by continuing to refrain from buying in stores with discriminatory policies."

The NAACP official reminded her audience that Mississippi has appropriated $2,000,000 to underwrite celebration of the Civil War Centennial over a two-year period.

"Yet, recent figures indicate that this same state is next to the lowest in the entire South in total revenue spent on public schooling," Miss Wright pointed out.

"Of this, Mississippi spent $187.33 educating each white pupil and only $107.34 per Negro child."

In addition, Miss Wright concluded, "this poverty-ridden state irresponsibly spent $250,000 of its citizens' funds to finance an agency specializing in 'selling' its brand of jim-crow to the nation."

THE snarling German police dogs now "on duty" with the Jackson police force were trained by a former Nazi storm trooper (Sturmabteilung). They were released in March on a peaceful group of Negro citizens who were quietly standing outside the Jackson city courthouse.

Harry Nawroth, who trained Doberman pinschers to guard Hitler's private airport, has trained more than 25,000 dogs of all breeds in his lifetime.

Nine NAACP college students were about to face charges for staging the state's first sit-in—they had attempted to use a "white only" library maintained at public (white and Negro) expense.

When the students approached the courthouse, a waiting crowd of some 100 Negroes, including women and children, applauded. Irritated, the police charged, led by the dogs. Negroes were bitten and knocked down.

NAACP field secretary Medgar Evers was pistol whipped. Rev. S. L. Whitney, pastor of the Farish Street Baptist Church (pictured across the nation in his attempt to pull away from an attacking dog) was bitten.

When NAACP executive secretary Roy Wilkins protested to Mississippi Governor Ross Barnett on the atrocity, Barnett told a Jackson newspaper, "I don't know a thing about the facts. I have so many things that are are *more important* to attend to."

EVERS' CONVICTION APPEALED

NAACP attorneys have filed an appeal in the Supreme Court of Mississippi in the case of Medgar Evers, Association field secretary for Mississippi, convicted of contempt of court for commenting on the outcome of a Negro's court trial.

Mr. Evers was convicted of constructive contempt, sentenced to 30 days in jail, and fined $100 for commenting to a news reporter that the conviction of the Negro was a "mockery of judicial justice."

The case raises an issue of restriction on free speech—whether in Mississippi a private citizen can safely comment on the outcome of a court case already decided.

Lawyers for Evers, Robert L. Carter, NAACP general counsel, and Jack H. Young of Jackson, Miss., will argue that Evers' statement, made on the day following the court decision, was a valid exercise of his right to freedom of speech which is protected against state interference under the due process clause of the Fourteenth Amendment.

They will also argue that constructive contempt within the meaning of Mississippi law was "never charged nor proved," that the judgment in the lower court failed to set forth corrupting elements in Evers' statement.

The case referred to by Evers was that of Clyde Kennard, who on November 21, 1960, was tried and convicted of burglary in the Circuit Court of Forrest county, Mississippi, and sentenced to seven years imprisonment for "agreeing" to the theft of $25 worth of chicken feed. A motion for a new trial was overruled. The convicting jury was composed of white persons who found Kennard guilty after only ten minutes of deliberation.

The heavy sentence was particularly significant since Kennard had a few months earlier attempted unsuccessfully to enroll in Mississippi Southern University.

How the Illinois NAACP Fights School Segregation

SCHOOL SEGREGATION IN ILLINOIS AND METHODS USED BY THE NAACP TO COMBAT IT

SCHOOL segregation in Illinois is *de facto* and not *de jure*. Statutes prohibiting segregation in public schools in Illinois have existed since 1874, but local tradition and housing patterns have made possible the existence of all-Negro, or predominately Negro schools. In some instances, school boundaries have been gerrymandered in order to maintain the status quo.

Racial segregation in the public schools of Illinois was prohibited by statute in 1874. Section 6-37 of the School Code, (H.B. 13, approved May 1, 1945 as amended), sets forth the duties of school officials:

To assign pupils to the several schools in the district; to admit non-resident pupils when it can be done without prejudice to the rights of resident pupils and provide them with any services of the school including transportation; to fix the rates of tuition and other costs including transportation, and to collect and pay the same to the treasurer for the use of the district; but no pupil shall be excluded from or segregated in any such school on account of his color, race or nationality. (As amended by L.1951, H. B. 497, approved June 21, 1951.)

In spite of the provisions of Section 6-37 of the School Code, school segregation was still locally sanctioned. Thus, in 1949 the General Assembly amended the school appropriations provision to prohibit aid to schools that segregated students on the basis of race, color or nationality. This legislation is known as the "Jenkins Amendment" and provided that:

No part of the money appropriated by this act shall be distributed to any school district in which any student is excluded from or segregated in any public school, within the meaning of 'the school code' because of his race, color or nationality.

Again in 1951, the 67th General Assembly enacted in House Bill 641 this provision:

. . . No state aid claims may be filed for any district unless the clerk or secretary of the school board executes and files with the Superintendent of Public Instruction on forms prescribed by him, a sworn statement that the district has combiled with the requirements of Section 6-37 in regard to the non-segregation of pupils on account of color, race or nationality.

In the same year, House Resolution 34 of the 67th General Assembly

provided for a committee of seven to investigate failure to end segregtation in some school districts. To this committee "the Superintendent of Public Instruction has pledged his full cooperation in the solution of this problem." It recommended that the Superintendent advise all county superintendents of the 1949 state law and advise that they obey it.

The reasons for the existence of these predominantly Negro schools vary from community to community. In most of the areas in the southern part of the state, these schools are a holdover from the days when segregation was locally sanctioned. In these communities integration has been permissive and students may go to the school of their choice. The result has been that a few Negro students are found enrolled in formerly all-white schools, but no white students have enrolled in the formerly all-Negro schools.

In the northern part of the state, and the St. Louis Metropolitan Area, predominantly Negro schools are largely caused by the residential segregation of Negroes. With the increase in the non-white population, it is expected that the number of predominantly Negro schools will increase if these residential patterns do not change. This danger is increased in cases where school officials draw school boundary lines in such a way as to promote racially homogenous student bodies. If, however, school officials adopt a policy of sub-districting in such a way that integration would be promoted, the number of predominantly Negro schools in large metropolitan areas would be reduced.

The Illinois state conference has not resorted to litigation since 1952. Then a favorable decision desegregating schools in Madison, Edwardsville, and Alton was made by the courts. On the unfavorable side, many Negro school teachers lost their jobs, which resulted in a revaluation of the entire problem, the partial solution of which is outlined in the following cases, which are not necessarily in chronological order:

Case #1 The local school board refused to hire Negro school teachers and told an aroused group of citizens that none had applied. This seems to be the pattern for many school districts. The NAACP recruited Negro teachers and had them send a carbon copy of their application to the NAACP. At a subsequent meeting the list was read. Public pressure resulted in the hiring of Negro teachers only in predominately Negro schools. Subsequent meetings resulted in placement in other schools. The NAACP sponsored a 4-hour credit course for teachers on how to deal with minority problems. When a new school superintendent was to be hired by the school board, the board gave the NAACP a list of the leading candidates for study of their background in respect to their history in dealing with race problems. Through our National Office, the NAACP helped pick the superintendent.

Desegregation in this case is proceeding in a slow gradual process with less problems.

Case #2 After litigation, the local board decided on the following procedure: Every year, one school grade was abolished. This took five years to accomplish. The vacated schools were then used as community centers. All teachers and students are now integrated; however, students, both white and

Negro, are given a choice as to whether or not they wish to attend the school in their area.

This has not been attacked because in many areas of the state, it is proving of benefit to the Negro student.

Case #3 An all-Negro school board paid tuition for white school children in the district to transfer out and attend schools in an adjoining state. Investigations from the State Superintendent of Public Instruction stopped this. Negro school board members in this community were threatened with loss of ADC and relief checks if they did not allow the white children to transfer.

Case #4 Negro youth were counseled to shop and home economics courses instead of the career of their choice. No single veteran was able to take advantage of the "On-the-job veterans training program," or the states distributive education program.

Pressure by the NAACP and other groups caused the State Superintendent of Public Instruction to request the school records and to compel the school to change its policy. This school still does not hire Negro teachers.

Case #5 This case is still in the process of negotiation, but is interesting in that new techniques were used for the first time.

Last August this school board announced that boundaries of the district were to be changed to decrease pupil load in a new school. Wittingly, or unwittingly, those pupils transferred from this new school were all Negro, thus, leaving the school all white. Upon a petition by the pupils involved, the NAACP state conference did the following:

Ordered all 43 Negro children involved to stay home in violation of the truancy laws;

Organized a picket line around the two schools involved, being careful that pickets did not picket during noon, morning or evening, thus avoiding clashes;

Held regular "pep meetings" to keep the community aroused and to inform members of progress;

Issued statements to radio, press, and television about the situation;

Collected funds to sustain the picket line (pickets were transported by car on the hour and were supplied with soft drinks, babysitters, etc.);

Organized an NAACP branch in the community;

Aroused the community as to how this was affecting both races sociologically;

After a period of almost three weeks, forced the board to reconsider. The board then set up a special citizens committee to study the situation. The NAACP then called off the picket line, and the children went back to school; and

Exertion of pressure on the board by the county superintendent, and the State Superintendent of Public Instruction.

The special committee agreed with the recommendations of the State NAACP, but the school board refused to accept them. Thereupon, the NAACP drew up a law suit petitioning the state superintendent to withhold funds.

During this period, a bond issue to enlarge the all-white school was

voted upon. A campaign to defeat the issue was made by the NAACP. The bond issue passed by five votes. An abnormal number of spoiled ballots in the Negro district would have defeated this issue. Plans were then made to harass the school board. They were:

To file a suit for a recount; and

To file individual suits one at a time, asking to be let out of the district.

These were designed to prevent any bonding company from acting upon the bond issue and thus to deprive the school district of funds for much needed expansion.

At a surprise meeting with the school board before the last two steps were undertaken, the school board announced to the State NAACP that a law suit would benefit neither party.

They in turn hired the state NAACP chairman of education and research to study the problem, to negotiate with all factions in the community, and to make a recommendation to the school board. Negro and white children were transported to other schools in the district as a token of good faith and willingness to desegregate.

These cases point out the following:

Cases of school segregation in the north can be won in many instances without litigation;

The need to arouse the citizens in the community of the situation;

Cooperation is needed with other interested groups;

Moral suasion, backed up by threats of litigation, will sometimes work, but this threat should not be made unless there is reason to believe you have a chance of winning; and

The complete cooperation of the state superintendent of public instruction.

DR. L. H. HOLMAN
President of the Illinois State
Conference of NAACP Branches

MRS. TAMMER SCREVEN, *member of Martha Chapter #26 of the Order of Eastern Star, Brooklyn, N. Y., receives her NAACP life membership plaque from Mrs. Anne Aldridge, New York state life membership secretary.*

What the Branches Are Doing

California: Biennial conference of the WEST COAST REGION will be held September 22-24, 1961, at Asilomar conference grounds, Pacific Grove. The conference is designed for both adults and youths from the entire region, which includes Alaska, Arizona, Hawaii, Idaho, Nevada, Oregon, Utah, and Washington.

Regional secretary Tarea Hall Pittman has petitioned Governor Brown to appoint a citizens' committee, under the direction of the attorney general, to investigate all aspects of the present prison violence at Folsom.

Connecticut: March issue of NAACP-VOICE, published by the NEW HAVEN branch, carries the following report of the attacks on the Torrington branch:

With respect to the many editorials of many newspapers attacking the position of the Torrington NAACP branch, we, of the New Haven branch, affirm our full support of the action by the Torrington NAACP to secure more adequate teaching materials for their high school. At the same time, we express our sharp disagreement with the interpretation that many editorials have put upon that action.

Our communications with the president of the Torrington branch reveal that such editorials have distorted the issue beyond recognition. Please allow us to restate the real issue.

First, *the Torrington branch is not calling for a ban on all books in which the word 'nigger' appears.* If the Torrington Board of Educatoin feels so 'lovingly and proudly' about the word 'nigger', and if they believe with many Editorialists that it has 'gloriously endowed' our nattion 'with human fellowship', and it inculcates 'perceptive respect'—whatever they may feel or believe about the word or about our *litterateurs'* use of it, is frankly irrelevant to the real issue, and immaterial to either the Torrington branch or to us. The Torrington branch has advocated neither 'bookbursting' nor 'censorship', as these editorials so graphically and erroneously state. Neither have they asked that the classics of Edgar Allan Poe, Joel Chandler Harris and Mark Twain be eliminated from the school. They have simply asked that a single third year English textbook, dated and inadequate, according to the judgement of the English Consultant for the State Department of Education, be replaced with a more up-to-date book which treats the Negro as fairly as any other ethnic or racial group. That is the issue.

Second, the Torrington Branch is asking only for a fair presentation of the image of the Negro in our classrooms, which is no more nor less than any other group seeks. We realize that if one looks hard enough in our libraries, he could find books and papers with fantastic stereotypes of Jews, Catholics, Germans, etc. But, (and this is the crucial point), such dated materials on these groups are in the libraries as *resource materials* and not in contemporary textbooks suggesting that the stereotype is what Catholics, Jews, and Germans are really like. Is it unreasonable to ask that Negroes, too, be more realistically represented in our

Cecil Layne

STILL TEACHING LEADERSHIP—*Two of Phi Delta Kappa teaching sorority's founders receive NAACP life membership plaques from Roy Wilkins, executive secretary. From L, they are Mrs. Helen Maxwell, national basileus; Mrs. Florence Hunt, recipient; Mr. Wilkins; and Mrs. Julia Barnes, recipient.*

textbooks and not *always* and *everywhere* as a clown, a flunky, or a rag-tag simpleminded child?

We are not asking for censorship, but for a fuller and fairer presentation of the facts about us. We are not asking that the books which deform us be banned. On the contrary, we would hope that they are kept as an index to the growth that we have made in our understanding of one another. But there can be neither index nor growth if our educators and decision-makers insist on looking at one group of us *only* in the light of out-moded 19th century ideas. . . .

Florida: Florida's Masons pledged $5,000 to help in the work of the NAACP and they recently fulfilled their pledge by making the final payment of $1,500 to the state treasurer, Rev. A. Leon Lowry, NAACP STATE CONFERENCE president, through their treasurer, the Rev. Robert H. Wilson.

Kansas: Members of the WICHTA branch have been lobbying in the

PRAYER BAND BIBLE CLUB *of Philadelphia, Pa., takes out a paid-in-full NAACP life membership. Harold Pilgrim, branch membership chairman, receives the check.*

Kansas state legislature for the passage of a civil-rights, fair-employment bill (House Bill #243).

Illinois: Dr. L. H. Holman, president of the ILLINOIS CONFERENCE OF BRANCHES, has charged the Shell Oil Company's refinery at Wood River, Illinois, with discriminatory employment practices against qualified Negro applicants and with violating the nondiscrimination clause in their federal contracts. Mr. Holman stated that the NAACP had conscientiously and continuously sought Shell's cooperation in meetings with them over the years to seek a change in their job practices, but with no results.

He pointed out that:

- Qualified Negroes are neither recruited nor hired at Shell's Wood River Refinery;
- Of the more than 3,000 persons who work at the refinery, not a single employee is Negro;
- Shell Oil's Wood River refinery is a federal government contractor;
- Shell Oil is paid with tax monies from Negro as well as white citizens;
- Shell management admitted that in their 40 years at Wood River, no Negro had ever worked there; and
- Shell had advised that they operated nationally on a written policy of nondiscrimination.

The oft-repeated question: "Is the Negro child being short changed by the Chicago public school system?" was discussed during the March membership meeting of the CHICAGO branch.

The branch has urged city action against Nielsen's restaurant at 7840 South Western for its discriminatory practices. The restaurant continues to refuse service to Negroes. The branch has also asked the city board of education to use bus transportation to relieve the overcrowding in the substandard schools which many Negro children are forced to attend.

In March, the branch protested the action of the Oglesby School principal in calling an assembly of all Negro children from the first grade up to discuss an incident which had involved a few Negro children. Although the school is a racially-mixed school with approximately 200 Negro children, none of the white pupils are included.

In a letter addressed to each member of the Board of Education, Reverend Carl A. Fuqua, executive secretary of the Chicago branch disclosed that the Negro children, except for kindergartners, of the school were called from classes toward the end of the day to a lecture by the principal, Mrs. Susan G. Boyle. The incident which occasioned the assembly

FIRST MEMBER—*Charles Hancock (R) receives his NAACP life membership certificate from James Farmer, former program director of the NAACP. Mr. Hancock is the first paid-in-full life member in the New Canaan, Conn., branch.*

NINE WILMINGTON, DEL., PASTORS *who helped raise $267.70 for the dispossessed Negroes of Haywood and Fayette counties, Tennessee. The ministers are (from L) the Reverends William Manley, Shiloh Baptist Church; Dr. Ruffin Noisette, Bethel AME; John Shockley, Zion Methodist; Luther Porter, treasurer Wilmington branch; Rev. Maurice Moyer, Community Presbyterian Church, newly elected branch president; Mrs. Daniel Williams, wife of pastor of Coleman Memorial Church; and Reverends Wayne Cuff, Simpson Methodist; and Leonard Morgan, Eighth Street Baptist, former branch president. Reverends P. B. Bynuna, Ebenezer Baptist; and H. T. Moody, Haven Methodist, are not pictured.*

was the behavior of a few Negro children which, she felt, was damaging the reputation of the school. Reverend Fuqua said: "For a period of years the Chicago branch of the NAACP has urged the Board of Education to intensify the program and to expand the department in the area of human relations. An incident which occurred this week is a most dramatic illustration of the need for implementing this urging."

A number of parents of Negro children were incensed over this action and arranged a conference. The conference resulted in the principal's admission that (1) she did call the assembly, (2) that she was trying to get the Negro children to understand that they must try to help change the bad conduct habits of other Negro children, and (3) that she would not call such a conference if the situation were to occur again.

Reverend Fuqua's letter to the Board of Education called the Board's attention to the need for some human relations education on the part of Chicago's school administrators. He indicated that there were other evidences that the Oglesby school principal is not the only one who has engaged in such tactics. He went on to say: "We are calling upon parents of children in other schools who have faced similar humiliating experiences to speak out in a determined drive to rid the Chicago public school system of this dreadful display of educational *apartheid* within the walls of a single school."

In conclusion he stated, "We urge the Chicago Board of Education to

investigate fully this incident and others which we shall be glad to aid in uncovering for you. We also urge the Board of Education to take another look at its position on human relations in the Chicago public schools and to come up with some effective program supported by a firm and factual statement of policy not cloaked in clichés. Perhaps this would do some good in creating the proper climate among the administrators of Public Schools that have interracial memberships. The number of such schools is destined to increase, and the time is now to prepare our school personnel and deal intelligently with whatever problems arise."

Michigan: The FLINT branch reports that a recent decision by Judge John Baker has broken one discriminatory barrier. In the case of *J. Merrill Spencer vs. Flint Memorial Park* the court ruled that Mr. Spencer had a right to retain ownership of cemetery lots where the rules of the cemetery association forbid sale of such lots to non-whites.

Minnesota: Friday, February 24, was proclaimed "Allie May Hampton Day" by Mayor George Vavoulis of Saint Paul. Mrs. Hampton, president of the ST. PAUL branch, was ill at the Bethesda Hospital at the time and the proclamation was read to her on her sick bed.

NEW LIFE-MEMBER SUBSCRIBERS *of the Wichita, Kansas, branch pictured here are (from L, seated) Father Earl Neil, rector St. Augustine Episcopal Church; Mrs. Myrtle Hurst, branch life membership chairman; Rev. Vinton Anderson, pastor St. Paul AME Church; (standing) Rev. Anzo Montgomery, pastor St. Matthews CME Church; Rev. James Douglass, pastor Greater St. Mary's Baptist Church; and Jack Mills, engineer at Boeing Aircraft Plant, Wichita.*

L. K. Hughes

Journal Photo

"THE HOUSE I LIVE IN"—*This was the topic of a panel discussion of the Meriden, Conn., branch on February 12 at the First Universalist Church. Some of the participants were (from L) Neil Scala, Mrs. William Woods, branch program chairman; Arthur Johnson, state commission on civil rights; and (standing) William Shea, of the state legislature.*

Missouri: Twelve members of the executive committee of the ST. LOUIS branch attended a public hearing of the St. Louis election board recently which discussed the redistricting of the Missouri State House of Representatives. The committee members were shocked by the farcical nature of the hearing and as a result they wrote a letter of protest to Governor John M. Dalton.

Second annual awards-luncheon of the St. Louis branch was held on April 8 at the Parish Hall of All Saints Episcopal Church.

New Jersey: The senior youth council of the ENGLEWOOD branch was host on January 29 to Ghana exchange student, Grace Hinson, 17. Miss Hinson is in the United States under a scholarship from the New York Herald Tribune and is a houseguest of Miss Leslie Noble, of 109 Lexington

avenue, Cresskill. Together they attend the Tenafly High School. It was at school that Grace met Allan Burton, an employee, and expressed a desire to meet American Negro youths. Mr. Burton got in touch with Attorney Arnold Brown, the NAACP's president, and arrangements were made with the corporation for Mrs. Deborah E. Spruill, the NAACP's senior youth adviser to entertain Grace.

The Spruills picked up Grace at 9:30 Sunday morning, and she began her day with breakfast at their home, 270 Rosemont place. Grace was then escorted to the First Baptist Church on William street for morning worship. The young people of the church were in complete charge of the services for the day. The NAACP's senior youth president, Iredell Comillion, was Grace's official escort, and was one of the guest speakers. Miss Hinson also gave an enlightening speech on the way people live in Ghana.

After church services, Mr. and Mrs. Spruill, with their two children, took Grace on a tour of the Fourth Ward and other areas of Englewood. They then went to the home of Mr. and Mrs. Arnold Brown for dinner.

HOMEMAKING CENTER, *New York City Department of Welfare, becomes life member of the NAACP. During a brotherhood meeting on February 17, at which he was guest speaker, Dr. John A. Morsell, assistant to NAACP executive secretary, presented the Homemaking Center its life membership plaque. Pictured (from L) are Mrs. Margaret Pierce, Louise Thomas, Elvira Signore, Dr. Morsell, Carolyn Murphy, director of the Center; and Mrs. Patricia Caldwell.*

Cecil Layne

Goodwin

ALFRED BAKER LEWIS *(2nd from L), NAACP treasurer, receives $1,000 check for the fighting fund for freedom from J. Arthur Brown (L), president South Carolina state conference, and Dr. W. H. "Bubber" Young, chairman state conference finance committee. NAACP field secretary Rev. I. D. Newman (R) looks on with an expression of pride. The presentation was made at a dinner given by the Professional Men's Club in honor of Mr. Lewis, who was making a tour of the South at the time.*

At 5 p.m. Grace was taken to the home of Miss Arlene Murphy, the NAACP's youth secretary. Miss Murphy had invited 20 of her friends to meet Grace. The young people danced, drank punch, and discussed religion and politics.

At 9 p.m. Grace was taken back to the home of the Spruills for cake and ice cream and at 10:30 returned home to the Nobles.

New York: Members of the executive committee (1961-62) of the CENTRAL LONG ISLAND branch were installed at a dinner and dance held at Olsen's Restaurant. More than 150 people attended.

The executive committee of the JAMAICA branch sent the Queens county district attorney a resolution demanding that he conduct a thorough investigation of the assault upon and the attempted kidnapping of the Rev.

Johnson Studio

MRS. MARION JORDON *presents NAACP life membership plaque to officers of the Victory Charity Club, Pittsburgh, Pa. Pictured (from L) are Lottie Stephans, financial secretary; Mrs. Rosa Combs, chairman executive board; Mrs. Viola, founder and president VCC; Mrs. Marion Jordon, former executive secretary Pittsburgh branch; and Mrs. Jennie Cobbs, chaplain.*

Walter Cavers in Long Island City on February 3, 1961. It was further demanded that the district attorney make a presentment to the grand jury upon completion of his investigation.

The WILLIAMSBRIDGE branch installed its officers and executive committee members on March 1 at St. Luke's Church Hall. The installation was made by Mrs. Olive Campbell, secretary of the New York state conference.

Purposes and goals of the NAACP were outlined by Mrs. Benona Bradford, membership chairman of the state conference, at the March 19 meeting of the WHITE PLAINS branch.

Washington: NAACP life member Sidney Gerber of Bellevue, sends the following news item:

In the summer of 1960, five Seattle real estate firms which cater to minority clients, mostly Negro, in the central district, decided to pool their resources in order to secure more listings open to non-whites in outlying areas of the city. These brokers have had applications for better housing,

FIRST DECISION—*One of the first bench decisions rendered by recently elected Municipal Court Judge Sidney A. Jones, Chicago, Ill., was to purchase a $500 NAACP life membership. Judge Jones (L) is presenting his check to the Rev. Carl A. Fuqua, executive secretary of the Chicago branch. Judge Jones is one of four Negro judges in Chicago.*

outside the old substandard central district, from many qualified clients; but they have usually been unable to secure listings because of the refusal of brokers in white areas to cooperate.

These five firms have invited all brokers to join their cooperative listing bureau, the only requirement being a pledge to serve everyone equally. By the end of 1960 they had a sixth member and they will soon have their seventh. They have incorporated themselves as the Central Brokers Association and elected David Shaw, a Seattle realtor, as president. Although progress has been slow, they have been able to open up new housing areas to Negroes. They recently sold a house in a large Seattle suburban subdivision to a Negro engineer at Boeing.

Book Reviews

PERSPECTIVES ON AMERICAN NEGRO ART
***American Negro Art.* By Cedric Dover. Greenwich, Connecticut: New York Graphic Society, 1960. 186pp. $10.00.**

Mr. Dover calls his book a "picture-book of responses to needs, situations, surroundings, and ideas." The first sixty pages include the introduction, a review of American Negro crafts and arts from colonial days to 1959, and a bibliography. Then there are the plates with captions, more commentary, and an index. Three hundred and eighty-three illustrations are contained within these pages. Much labor and material have gone into the making of this book. Yet, in spite of its handsome dust jacket and occasionally well planned pages, the resulting "picturebook" falls short of the orderly and dignified presentation one had hoped for. Even the eight full-color plates cannot redeem the uneven quality of this book's design. And what a great pity that is; for a book presenting reproductions of art should, above all else, be artistically put together if it is to be a significant contribution.

There are many excellent illustrations in *American Negro Art.* One opens the book to Aaron Douglas' striking mural decorations, stops momentarily at Charles White's arresting figure study, and moves on to an exquisite double-title page featuring a sensitive Barthé head. The reader turns the page. Boom! He stumbles over the acknowledgements and dedication and lands sprawling on the contents page. Here Eldzier Cortor's handsome halftone, James Lesesne Wells' sharp woodcuts, and the table of contents engage in a battle for eye attention. By virtue of its striking design and its size the Cortor painting takes the edge, though all four lose something. This frequently repeated pattern reaches its summit when four canvases collide at plate #45. The effect is that of four good actors earnestly delivering different lines simultaneously from the same stage.

A more evenly designed book could have been produced within the same framework with fewer pictures and more space to put them in. A part of that space could conceivably have been donated by the author without damage to his text. Actually, the latter might well have been helped by simplification, in the true picturebook tradition, since the writing covering pages 12 through 29, for example, is repeated in simpler and more forceful language on pages 62 and 72. The statements embodied in the artists' works are not as much in need of an embellished explanation as they are in need of page space

THE FACTS BEHIND THE HEADLINES...

THE BLACK MUSLIMS IN AMERICA

By C. ERIC LINCOLN

Foreword by Gordon W. Allport

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against which they may be seen to advantage.

Of the text itself, it may be said that Mr. Dover has treated the works of the 19th century artists, Robert Duncanson, Eugene Warbourg, Edmonia Lewis, and William Harper with a balanced fairness. The slight error on page 29 relative to Harper's age at the time of his death in no way dims the author's justified enthusiasm for the Harper art. And Mr. Dover's research provides the reader with informative material on the early Negro craftsmen in wood and metal as well as the later portraitists of Louisiana and the New York engraver, Patrick Reason. Again, the appraisals here seem quite fair. But the mixed praising and flogging of Henry O. Tanner seems unbalanced and unfair.

Mr. Dover calls Tanner's Biblical pictures "intriguingly contrived masterpieces of composition, color harmony, and the play of light." That, for any painter, is not scant praise. At the same time, however, he flays Tanner for leaving America and failing to become a "Negro genre painter of exceptional power." It is not the duty of the art critic and historian to designate what an artist should produce and where he should produce it. It is his job to examine and evaluate the work the artist accomplishes. Nothing more. Mr. Dover says that Tanner is forgotten today in France, unknown in Europe, and remembered in America "by the circumstance of birth and the perpetuating will of historically minded Negroes." He concludes his statement on Tanner with, "The irony should be educative." It is indeed. Students of history and art learn that the nature of art and of human reaction to it is such that artists are frequently discovered, praised; then, ironically, relegated to oblivion only to be re-discovered and re-honored later. Thus, today's rejection of Tanner in no manner negates the value of his truly excellent works. Nor does it necessarily ring down the final curtain on the Tanner name.

Mr. Dover gives warm endorsement to the following statement attributed to the celebrated poet, James Weldon Johnson:

> It is axiomatic that the artist achieves his best when working at his best with the materials he knows best. And it goes without saying that the material which the Negro knows best comes out of the life and experience of the colored people in America.

While that axiom is sound in part one need not follow it slavishly to produce art of value. Imagine what would have been lost to the world had El Greco, a 16th century Cretan, trained in Italy and established as a Spanish painter, followed such advice. Suppose he had been convinced of the "rightness" of remaining at home to paint his people simply because Cretans had, for over three centuries, been under the heel of the Venitians. Are we so confused by the pattern of color prejudice that we cannot apply the lessons of history to the case of the American artist who happens to have been born black?

Mr. Dover's grasp of the meaning of the Negro Renaissance, the contribution of The Harmon Foundation, and his firsthand contacts and friendships with American Negroes at Fisk and elsewhere in this country indicate his intimacy with those important aspects of his subject. Especially warm are his comments on the works of Aaron Douglas, Archibald J. Motley, Hale Woodruff, Horace Pippen, Lois Mailou Jones, Jacob Lawrence, and Charles White. Of the plates themselves some of the sculptures are well seen, notably those of Sargent Johnson, Barbara Chase, Elizabeth Catlett, and Ed Wilson. Paintings by Romare Bearden, Ellis Wilson, John Wilson and Alma Thomas provide interesting

plates. Valuable also is the index, listing a goodly number of the important contemporary Negro artists.

Mr. Dover must be commended for gathering nearly all of the material for his book through trans-Atlantic correspondence. That, at best, can be a most trying way of preparing any book and one marvels at the author's patience in dealing successfully with artists and collectors, many of whom can be most indifferent to the routine problems involved. Even so, the pictorial material he has in the book has much artistic merit. One wishes desperately that it had been more lovingly assembled.

ELTON C. FAX is the well-known American artist and author of the recently published *West African Vignettes*, a book of drawings confined to scenes of West Africa.

NEWCOMERS

***London's Newcomers: The West Indian Migrants.* By Ruth Glass, assisted by Harold Pollins. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1961. XIII+278 pp. $4.00.**

This book was originally published in London in 1960 by the Centre for Urban Studies, University College London, as *Newcomers: The West Indians in London* (George Allen & Unwin Ltd.) It is a detailed analysis of Britain's color problem, especially as it affects British West Indians. Crux of the problem is that Britishers do not regard Negroes and their actions in exactly the same way as they do similar actions when done by white people. West Indians are British in citizenship, tradition, religion, and language, with minor differences in many of their habits and general outlook. Poles, for instance, are in many respects much more alien than West Indians, yet the Polish immigrant meets less prejudice and discrimination than the West Indian. "A white newcomer can hide, or eventually lose, the obvious signs of his foreignness; a dark skinned man cannot wash off his color."

Although color prejudice is widespread in British society, few Britishers will admit that they are prejudiced and they are inclined to blame incidents of color discrimination and prejudice on the other fellow. "Ambivalence on matters of race relations is another heritage of British imperial history."

Mrs. Glass examines the problems faced by West Indians in six chapters and four appendices. Their chief problem is employment, and in this area the color bar is disguised; but in housing, the next most important problem, the color bar is overt. In both employment and housing the color bar is tied up with many factors other than race. Generally, Negroes and whites can work together much more easily than they can live together. Nor is there any objection in the schools to Negro children, possibly because there are such a few of them in any given school.

Because there has never been any legalized system of racial discrimination in Britain, the Britisher is usually ambivalent toward Negroes. "Indeed, color prejudice has two faces: discrimination works both ways. While there are apparently few people in any social stratum in Britain who are genuinely free from prejudice, there is also, so far, only a minority who are dogmatic and self-righteous in demanding 'Keep Britain White.' Just because color prejudice is not quite proper and yet so diffused, it tends to get revered."

London's Newcomers is an important contribution to an understanding of Negro-white relations in Great Britain.

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***The Twilight Of European Colonialism: A Political Analysis.* By Stewart C. Easton. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1960. XVI+571pp. $10.00.**

***The Emerging States of French Equatorial Africa.* By Virginia Thompson and Richard Adloff. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1960. XII+595pp. $8.75.**

Dr. Easton's book is primarily concerned with political developments in the colonies (and former colonies in many instances) of Great Britain, France, Belgium, and Portugal. Enough economic information is given to make understandable the political events, as well as the necessary historical data. Among the most interesting chapters are those on the West Indian Federation, the countries with large white-settler populations, and the French Community. This study makes clear that the seeds of nationalism planted by the European colonial powers themselves, are now being used by the Africans to rid themselves of European political control. Dr. Easton's book contains a vast amount of useful information although some of it is now dated so rapid have been the changes in Africa since the author finished his manuscript in September 1959.

The Emerging States of French Equatorial Africa is a companion volume to the same authors' *French West Africa* (Stanford, 1958). French Equatorial Africa (Afrique-Equatoriale Française) consists of Gabon (République Gabonaise), Oubangui-Chari (République Centrafricaine), Tchad République du Tchad), and Moyen-Congo (République du Congo). Our authors discuss the politics—political parties and their leaders, status of chiefs, etc. —finances, transportation, trade, land tenure, education, religion, industry, the press, and population and social welfare. Although highly readable, their material by its very nature is of more interest to the expert than to the layman. The book is a mine of valuable information and furnishes needed background for everyone interested in what is now taking place in Africa.

PHILADELPHIA, PA., GRADUATES *of Harlem Hospital, N. Y., making initial payment on their NAACP life membership to Dr. James Ramsey and Harriet McKissick Barbour (at Dr. Ramsey's right), chairman and co-chairman, respectively, of the branch life membership committee.*

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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

LARGER QUESTIONS

To the Editor of *The Crisis:*

I had hoped that my friend John Morsell would address himself to the larger questions raised by my study, *Negro Politics: The Search for Leadership,* which he reviewed in your March 1961 issue. Instead, he has concerned himself almost entirely with justifying the NAACP's claim for credit in furthering the progress of the Negro.

He seems to argue that I am wrong in stating that the prestige of the NAACP was significantly enhanced by *Brown v Topeka* on the grounds that, in the forty years before the school desegregation cases, the NAACP had won a series of important legal victories. I am certainly not unaware of these earlier achievements, but my assertion I think remains correct as can be seen from several facts: First, the membership of the NAACP grew from about 240,000 in 1954 to over 350,000 by 1956, an increase of over 45 per cent in just two years. In Los Angeles, Boston, Chicago, and New York City, branch memberships at least doubled in this period, and there were significant increases in other Northern cities. Second, every NAACP branch officer I interviewed in four of the largest cities agreed that *Brown v Topeka* was the reason for this increase and, indeed, it is hard to think what other explanation there might be. All agreed that 1954 eased the fears of some Negroes that the NAACP was not winning victories on basic issues.

As far as what Dr. Morsell calls the "cooperative and collaborative" activity of other protest organizations with the NAACP before World War II, I need only remind him of the overwhelming evidence in Herbert Garfinkel's book, *When Negroes March,* that such "collaboration" was often at best reluctant (see pp 39-41), involved considerable organizational rivalry, and eventually broke down in a complete rupture of relations (see page 111) with the March on Washington Movement.

My second error appears to be in not giving enough credit to the achievements of the local branches. If I had found many, I would have done so. Dr. Morsell claims that there are "effective programs of local community action" in "far more" branches than not. I challenge this. It is certainly not true in large branches such as Chicago, Los Angeles, and New York, and seldom true elsewhere except on a very small and largely ineffective scale. The successes of the NAACP are almost entirely national successes; with some exceptions, the most important local branch activity is and usually has been the annual membership drive which is carried on primarily for the benefit of the national office.

Finally, Dr. Morsell feels I have implied that voluntary associations in the field of race relations are "contrived" and based on the "manufacture" of issues. Let me set the record straight. Such an imputation is completely unfair. I am fully aware of the great, genuine problems these organizations face and the vast social tragedy against which they are struggling. I had hoped the day had passed when all books about Negroes had to begin with a lengthy recitation of the injustices facing Negroes. I assumed, I think fairly, that my readers are fully aware of those inequities. I was discussing, in the controversial passages he cites, the general nature of the voluntary association approach to social problems, both real and imagined, and how such an approach differs from alternative strategies. And, although an official of the NAACP cannot be expected to admit

it, there *are* alternative approaches, as many Negro politicians are at pains to suggest.

I think any disagreement between Dr. Morsell and myself is, in any case, a matter of difference in emphasis. I am confident we agree on fundamentals. I know and respect his own work, and look forward to continuing our conversations on these subjects.

JAMES Q. WILSON
University of Chicago
Chicago, Ill.
March 30, 1961

REVIEWER'S REPLY TO AUTHORS' REPLY

To the Editor of The Crisis:

I have no doubt that James Wilson and I will continue our friendly exchanges on this and related matters for a long while to come. Meantime, a few observations seem in order on his letter commenting on my review of his book.

I make no apology for dwelling at length on what I consider to be serious mistakes of fact and interpretation regarding the NAACP; in a volume sub-titled "The Search for Leadership" there could hardly be a more important subject than the role and function of the organization which has borne the major burden of leadership of the Negro's cause for over half a century. At the same time, I continue to be troubled as I was when reading "Negro Politics" by what seems to be, at the moment at least, an unbridgeable gulf between our respective understandings of the meaning of words.

There is no reason to imply, for instance, any doubt on my part that *Brown v. Topeka* significantly enhanced NAACP prestige. Of course it did. The statement to which I took exception (and I still do) was that, as a result of this decision, "the legal approach of the association was seen to have some merit."

When I complained that Professor Wilson's formulations suggested that voluntary associations in this field "contrive" issues so as to justify their existence, I made it clear that I did not regard this as his personal point of view. I still insist that many of his readers are likely to draw such an inference from what he wrote (some already have).

Our disagreement must remain positive in the matter of the extent and quality of programmed activity among NAACP branches. It is still a fact that the majority of branches engage in effective programs of community action and the contrary simply should not be maintained without first-hand examination of enough branches to be reasonably representative. This does not mean ten or twenty or even fifty.

My space here does not permit a discussion of the *criteria* to be used in determining what is or is not effective branch activity, but I would submit that there are alternatives to what Professor Wilson has, perhaps unavoidably, in his context, used for his evaluation. And, above and beyond this, there are literally scores of places where it is an achievement of the first magnitude for a branch simply to continue to exist in the face of white community hostility.

As Professor Wilson says, there is probably not much argument between us on fundamentals. We may in time narrow down our differences on the details. Naturally, I would hope that this finds us ultimately joined on my ground rather than his.

JOHN A. MORSELL
Assistant to the NAACP
Executive Secretary
April 7, 1961

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